THE

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 7 October, 1925 Number 10

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The World of Labour

Published at
162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S.W. 1

PRICE SIXPENCE

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Published at
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London
S.W.1

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The Labour Monthly

Editorial and Publishing Offices:

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE RD., S.W.1

Telephone : VICTORIA 9193.

¶ The Editor of *The Labour Monthly* invites contributions. He cannot, however, be held responsible for MSS. sent to him, or undertake to enter into correspondence regarding rejected contributions, although every endeavour will be made to return the same when a stamped and addressed envelope for that purpose is enclosed.

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[PAID IN ADVANCE]

British Isles :

One year - 7/- Six months - 3/6

Abroad :

One year 8/- or $2.00 Six months 4/- or $1.00

American Subscription Representative :—Philip Novick, 2710 Sedgwick Avenue, Bronx, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Advertisement Rates on application.

Volume VI (January to December, 1924) can be supplied for 10s. 6d. post free, or these numbers can be bound and returned post free for 4s. 6d.
Cases can be supplied for 3s. 6d. post free.
Title Page for Volume VI can be had on application if 1½d. for postage is sent.
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NOTES of the MONTH

Liverpool and Scarborough—The Issue in Front—A Political Issue—The Labour Party's Rôle—The Real Division—Whose Programme? — Capitalism the Alternative — The Second International and the Labour Party—Breaking the Chains—The Labour Party and the Class Struggle.

> *Many of our good comrades who in the days gone by taught us to believe there was no remedy other than the abolition of capitalism seem afraid now that the system is collapsing, and appeal for a united effort to patch up the system with the aid of the present possessing class.*—Chairman's Address, Scarborough Trades Union Congress, September 7, 1925.

THE Labour Party Conference is face to face with the issue of the Class Struggle. The Class Struggle is confronting the British working class to-day in a form which no leader can escape. All the forces in the situation are driving to sharper and sharper conflicts of the organised strength of Capital and the workers in the near future. This is admitted and recognised on every side, alike by the capitalists and by the working-class representatives, both Right wing and Left wing. The Government is visibly making preparations. The capitalist class is openly staking everything on a future decisive struggle. All their expressions and actions indicate that they intend a struggle which will stick at nothing. The workers on their side are beginning to awaken to the inevitable issues in front. How fast events are moving is indicated by some of the resolutions passed at the Scarborough Trades Union Congress. That the Trades Union Congress should, in the face of Right wing opposition, pass resolutions in favour of the establishment of factory committees and for the dissolution of the capitalist empire, indicates a tremendous advance in working-class feeling and outlook. This advance, responding to the urgent and rapidly developing situation, demands to be expressed and organised for the coming crisis. The Scarborough Congress did approach some of the issues, though putting off the most urgent decisions with dangerous delay. But

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the Labour Party Conference, as the political body of the workers, has the supreme duty of giving political expression to the whole situation and the approaching struggle. Severe as was the test for the Trades Union Congress, it is still more severe for the Labour Party Conference.

IT is still sometimes spoken as if the question in front were simply a question of next May, when an exceptionally severe industrial struggle might be expected, of concern to the Trade Unions. This is certainly incorrect. A glance at the language of the Government representatives would show that the issues in front are very much more serious. The following is the statement of the Government view, according to *The Times* political correspondent :—

> The majority of the Cabinet agreed . . . that if it is inevitable (which they doubt) that sooner or later the forces of law and order must come into conflict with the executives of the Trade Unions, such a contest would inevitably be bitter and prolonged. If such an issue should ever have to be brought to a head, public opinion would have to be educated into a state of preparedness to accept the consequences.—*The Times*, August 6, 1925.

The following is the statement of the Prime Minister :—

> We were confronted by a great alliance of Trade Unions, who had the power and the will to inflict enormous and irreparable damage on their country. . . . That is a grave menace. . . . It is a very sad climax to the evolution of popular government that there should be men who have a great deal to gain, whatever they think, by progressive democracy, if they allow themselves to take a course right against everything for which democracy stands. I do not know if the policy which I describe is endorsed in all its implications by the whole of the Labour Party ; but if that be so I do not see how constitutional government can live. . . . If the time should come when the community has to protect itself, with the full strength of the government behind it, the community will do so, and the response of the community will astonish the forces of anarchy throughout the world.—House of Commons, August 6, 1925 : *The Times* report, August 7, 1925.

The following is the statement of the Home Secretary :—

> He said to them, coming straight from the Cabinet Councils, the thing was not finished. The danger was not over. Sooner or later this

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> question had got to be fought out by the people of the land. Was England to be governed by Parliament and by the Cabinet or by a handful of Trade Union leaders? If a Soviet were established here . . . a grave position would arise. On the other hand, if people were prepared to support the Government . . . then he said quite frankly, quite seriously, there would be for a time grave trouble in the land, but if the heart of the people were sound, they could stand it.—Speech at Northampton: *The Times*, August 3, 1925.

The following is the statement of Mr. Churchill :—

> In the event of a struggle, whatever its character might be, however ugly the episodes which marked it, he had no doubt that the national State would emerge victorious in spite of all the rough and awkward corners that it might have to turn. But if they were going to embark on a struggle of this kind, let them be quite sure that decisive public opinion was behind them. As the struggle widened and it became, as it must, a test whether the country was to be ruled by Parliament or by some sort of other organisation not responsible by our elective processes to the country as a whole—as that emerged, more and more and with every increase in the gravity of the issue, new resources of strength would have come to the State, and all sorts of action, which we now consider quite impossible, would, just as in the time of the war, have been taken with general assent as a matter of course.—House of Commons, August 6, 1925: *The Times* report, August 7, 1925.

These are all statements of responsible Government spokesmen (to leave out of account the open propaganda of the inflammatory press). Their meaning is perfectly clear and definite. They mean that the repetition of such a stand as the Trade Unions made last July, with the approval of the entire united working-class movement, will be regarded as war on the community and will be met by measures "just as in time of war." No working-class representative worth his salt can shirk this issue.

IT is not a question simply of next May. It is not a question simply of maintaining wage standards. When an economic issue reaches the scale of involving the whole class forces on either side, it is evident to all that it has become a political issue. It is equally evident that the sheer enlargement and intensification of current industrial struggles, rendered inevitable by the worsening economic situation, inevitably leads to this issue, whatever the

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tactics or negotiations of one or another particular crisis. The action of the Government marks the political character of the issue. The mineowners are in the background ; the direct protagonist is the Government, representing the whole capitalist class ; just as the direct protagonist on the other side is the General Council, representing the whole working class. It is further clear that the question of wages can no longer be settled along the old lines of bargaining, but that in the present decline of capitalist industry in Britain the ownership of industry, and therefore class power, is inevitably involved. The question in front, therefore, is not simply a question of maintaining wage standards next spring. It is in the fullest sense a political issue—the struggle of classes for power. This issue, it is becoming clear to all, will have to be faced : and it is raising problems, and revealing needs, for which the working class in this country has not hitherto been prepared.

IF the Labour Party is a workers' party, it must lead. There is no longer any possibility of evading the immediate struggle of the workers on the plea that it is not of direct concern to the Labour Party as a political party. On the contrary the immediate struggle of the workers is to-day the centre of the political situation. The Labour Party is, therefore, bound to take its position and to assume the responsibilities of that position. How shall the workers meet the plans which the capitalists are preparing? Responsible leaders of the Labour Party have spoken of those plans. The Labour Party has not yet shown how to meet them or given any lead to the workers. To do this demands immediate leadership, and not simple references to possible Labour Governments or elections five years off. This is the real task confronting the Labour Party Conference. If the existing Labour Party leadership deny this task, and regard themselves, not as leaders of the workers' struggle, but as lookers on or impartial mediators, they cut themselves off from the working class. By so doing they seek to make the Labour Party, not the party of the workers, but a party like the capitalist parties—a part of the apparatus of Capitalism. If this conception is held, the sooner it is clearly brought out, the better, in order that this issue may be fought out. It is the future of the Labour Party that is being brought to the test.

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THIS, and nothing else, is the reality of the so-called divergence between the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. The reality is nothing other than the issue of the Class Struggle. Between the mass of the Trade Unions and the mass of the Labour Party there can be no divergence, because the Trade Unions are the Labour Party. But between a leadership that accepts the class struggle, and a leadership that repudiates the class struggle, there is and inevitably must be difference on every working-class issue, and therefore every political issue, that arises. It is a political difference ; it has nothing to do with friction between rival wings of organisations. This was shown over the Dawes Plan, over the China issue and over the question of the Empire. There are open supporters of the class struggle in the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party. There are open enemies of the class struggle among the Trade Union leaders. To talk of a division between " Industrials " and " Politicals " is to fog the issue. To plead for co-operation between " Industrials " and " Politicals " is deliberately to shirk the real issue. Of course, there must be co-operation of the whole united movement. But that co-operation can only be on the basis of the class struggle. The attempt to introduce any other basis splits the movement. There are to-day two leaderships in the working-class movement, one that accepts the class struggle, and one that, both openly and covertly, opposes the class struggle. So long as this is so, the movement cannot be united ; it is paralysed and divided in the face of struggle. This division must be overcome ; the issue of the class struggle must be settled, both in the Labour Party and in the Trade Unions. If this is done, there will be no more question of so-called divergence of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party.

IT is at this point that the existing Labour Party Executive has brought out its new " co-ordinated policy of National Reconstruction and Reform." This is a very definite tactical move on the part of the opponents of the class struggle, who are at the moment dominant on the Labour Party Executive ; and it raises the whole issue in the most challenging and provocative way. The old programme of 1918, which did at any rate contain the germ of Socialism, is thrown overboard in practice (that is to say,

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it is henceforward accepted only "in principle"—so Henderson's explanation to the *New Leader*), and is replaced by a new programme built on the existing order—*i.e.*, omitting socialisation, supporting the Empire, &c. Why this move, at the very moment when the class struggle is reaching its most intense point, and the fundamental issues of Socialism are beginning to be raised? It certainly does not reflect any movement of working-class feeling and opinion; on the contrary the new programme came like a bolt from the blue, mysteriously and inexplicably introduced from above to the movement; and the agenda, with the host of amendments from every side as well as such significant signs as the hundred resolutions on the Communists) shows that the Executive is going in direct antagonism to the whole of the movement. It bears no relation to the great advance in working-class consciousness and confidence which has been reflected in "Red Friday" and the Scarborough Trades Union Congress. On the contrary it goes in direct opposition and challenge to the whole current movement of the working class. What then does it mean? Why has it arisen? It is a challenge that the whole working-class movement will need to take up.

THE significance of the new Executive programme is that it is a conscious answer of the Right wing, a deliberate alternative to the whole present trend of the working-class movement. The new programme is not the expression of the movement, but of the small group which at present dominates the Labour Party Executive and is hostile to the class struggle. This group, because it is hostile to the class struggle, is inevitably hostile to every expression of the working-class movement save as an electoral machine, and is in consequence continually brought into opposition to the movement. This is shown in every strike; it was shown over the Dawes Report, which was opposed by every important Trade Union; it has been shown again in the question of the exclusion of the Communists, where all the Executive's attempts to put it into operation have been defeated by the movement. The new programme is the latest expression of this issue. The group in question refuses to build upon the working class. But there is in practice only one alternative upon which to build, and that is Capitalism.

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The new programme is the expression of this. Hence the omission of socialisation, the acceptance of the Empire, and the rest. The new programme is the attempt to build a programme on the basis of Capitalism (while not, of course, forgetting the ultimate ideal of Socialism).

BUT the action of this group is only part of a larger action—the whole action of the Second International in the present situation. The group in question on the Labour Party Executive is very closely allied with the Second International. MacDonald, Henderson, Thomas, and their ex-Liberal associates, are nearer in reality to Vandervelde, Blum, Renaudel, Oudegeest, Scheidemann, and the rest than to the British working-class movement. This international group of leaders plays a very significant rôle in the post-war world as agents of their respective governments in relation to the Versailles Treaty, Reparations, &c., as well as in opposition to the militant working-class movement. They are actively opposed to any form of united working-class struggle, and responsible for the policy of splits on the Continent (unsuccessfully attempted by their representatives here); and they are fanatical enemies of Soviet Russia. We have already come across the activities of this group in relation to International Trade Union Unity; and more recently we have some across another specimen of it in relation to Soviet Russia at the Marseilles Congress, where they have actually been discussing the possibility of successful armed intervention or other form of pressure from the "civilised" world upon the Soviet Government. The policy of the Second International is in fact the policy of the Reconstruction of Capitalism. This follows inevitably from their turning back on the class struggle, from their acceptance of the task of maintaining the existing social system in order to achieve a gradual transformation. They do not see that Capitalism is in fact in the epoch of collapse; economically breaking down; on the verge of renewed wars; the workers rising against it; colonies in revolt. Consequently, when they endeavour to maintain "order" and a "flourishing economic system" to inherit by gradual transformation, they are compelled in practice to give all their endeavours to rebuilding the shaken

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capitalist order, striving to patch up the quarrels of the imperialist powers, re-establish (capitalist) production, persuade the workers to work quietly, suppress the risings of the workers, and shoot down the colonial rebels with bombs and machine guns. It is in this way that "Peaceful" "Democratic" Socialism inevitably becomes in practice the Reconstruction of Capitalism and the support of Imperialism. The new programme submitted to the Labour Party is simply a further expression of this policy. It is the culmination of the attempt to fasten the policy of the Second International, as revealed on the Continent, upon the Labour Party, and to turn the Labour Party into a Social Democratic Party of the Continental type. The logical counterpart of this policy means to turn away increasingly from the Trade Unions, and to endeavour to build upon individual membership.

NOW the British working-class movement is just shaking itself free from this type of policy and leadership, and from the quagmire into which it has brought the working class of Western and Central Europe. The British working class is leading the way forward along the path of Unity, Solidarity, and the Class Struggle in the face of a venomous campaign of hatred and calumny from the leaders of the Second International. And it is at this point that the representatives of the Second International leadership bring forward a policy of precisely this type for the adoption of the Labour Party—a policy of the reconstruction of capitalism, the abandonment of all immediate claims of socialisation, the repudiation of the class struggle, and the acceptance of all the shackles of the League of Nations, Protocol, Dawes Report, Empire, &c. At the moment when the workers are awakening to the need of fundamental attacks upon Capitalism, when the whole struggle is driving forward, this attempt is introduced to make the Labour Party safe for Capitalism and paralyse the advance of the workers. The national and international meaning of these tactics is too plain to be misunderstood. The advance of the working class is not so easily to be put off. This capitalist programme needs to be squarely challenged and met with an emphatic reassertion of working-class interests within the Labour Party.

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A PLAIN duty awaits the delegates to the Labour Party Conference ; to win back the Labour Party for the working class and for the working-class struggle. The task which has been begun in the Trade Unions needs to be carried through in the Labour Party, if the movement is to be prepared and united for the struggles in front. This demands a greater effort than in the Trade Unions, and the defeating of more subtle and dangerous enemies ; but the composition of the two bodies is so similar that it can and must be done. For this reason the assumption of full political responsibility by the Trade Union representatives in the Labour Party Conference and on the Labour Party Executive is of urgent importance. It is useless to attack the Empire in one conference and acclaim it in another. It is incongruous to proclaim national and international unity on one side, and at the same time to maintain the exclusion of a working-class party from the common front. The British working-class movement, which is giving a lead to the international movement in other respects, can also give it in respect of Unity and the overcoming of splits—an example which would have a profound effect. The Labour Party must achieve a leadership which is capable of interpreting and expressing the feelings of the masses, that is to say, which recognises the class struggle and builds its whole agitation and policy upon its needs. In this way, and in this way alone, can the existing divisions be overcome, and the whole movement go forward as a united force.

R. P. D.

An article on "Workshop Committees" will appear next month.

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PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONISM

By W. DOBBIE

THE Editor of THE LABOUR MONTHLY has asked me to give my views on the question of Unity in the Trade Union Movement, and for my opinions as to the best policy to adopt with a view to obtaining a real combination of Trade Union forces.

I suppose it is quite unnecessary for me to say that, in my opinion, the present state of chaos in the organisation of the workers is absurd, and that the spectacle of competing Unions quarrelling for the right to organise and negotiate for different classes of men and women is an unedifying one and is making our movement ridiculous in the eyes of the employers. That opinion is held by the rank and file all over the country and it is well known that all the leading figures in the movement pay lip service to the idea of greater unity. At meetings up and down the country great masses of workers enthusiastically welcome speeches condemning the lack of Unity prevailing and calling for greater cohesion between the sections. "Workers of the World, Unite" has been the slogan of the working classes ever since the phrase was coined, but to-day—whilst we have millions of workers in Trade Unions—we are still disorganised, an unwieldy army of discordant units.

This being obviously so, it is necessary to give some consideration to the underlying causes which are operating to prevent unity even in industries where our daily experience in fighting the employers is providing glaring examples of our failure to function on behalf of our members. Readers of THE LABOUR MONTHLY will not need to be reminded that since 1921 the workers have been "on the run." They will not need to be reminded of the hundred and one cases where the employers have played off one Union against another and one leader against the other to break the solidarity of the workers and to undermine the fighting spirit of men driven to desperation. They will know that the tactics employed are the same on each occasion—an offer of a specious

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concession to a section at a critical moment, an interview with a sectional leader in order to breed suspicion when unanimity is most essential, the poisonous paragraphs in the Press hinting at dissensions in the ranks of the workers and their officials, and the news from " Our Labour Correspondent " so deadly and effective in its apparent friendliness. These tactics defeat each of the leaders in their turn, and each section of the workers suffers disaster from the same causes with monotonous regularity. The lesson is not learned and our pathetic faith in the old methods would be humorous if it did not involve such dire consequences.

To students of this problem it has become an axiom that the rank and file ultimately determine the policy of an organisation. However powerful a leader may be in the counsels of his Union—or however eloquent and persuasive he may be—it is the ordinary worker " on the job " who decides the road to be followed. To blame or abuse leaders is attacking the problem at the wrong end, and, as a matter of fact, is defeating its own object, having the effect of rallying the workers around a respected leader and strengthening his influence with his section. In saying that, however, I am not under-estimating the power of the leaders who use their influence to perpetuate the present unsatisfactory position. But the real causes go deeper than that, and it seems to me to be very unwise to ignore, or to fail to appreciate and give full credit for, the motives which sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously actuate sectional bodies, consisting of masses of men, to ardently cling to, and often to bitterly fight for, their old established organisation.

One factor I find most difficult to overcome, and one that appears to be more generally prevalent than is appreciated, is the belief in the superiority and the importance of particular grades and crafts over their fellow workers in an industry. How that belief can still be held by any body of workers in view of the developments in industry since the war and the vicious reductions that have been imposed on " skilled " and " unskilled " workers alike, I am at a loss to understand. The development of Capitalism will, of course, continue to destroy that belief and the straits into which even the " Aristocracy of the Workers " will be put in a dying capitalism will bring home to all grades their right to no title but that of Wage Slave. In the meantime the combating of this relic

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of Victorian days should not be overlooked in our propaganda for Unity.

Another obstacle is the reverential respect some workers have for their Society, its history and traditions and its pioneers. The atmosphere surrounding their relationship with their Union is an almost "religious" one, and the ideas of the past generation, their ritual and their outlook, are being perpetuated without regard to the changed conditions of a continually evolving world. I yield second place to no one in my admiration for the pioneers of the Trade Union movement. I appreciate to the full the tremendous battle they fought to lay the foundations of our present organisations. But the rebel and the fighter to-day is the prototype of those pioneers and they would be the first to recognise the need for changing tactics in a changing situation. They did recognise the need for changes and the best service their followers can render to their memory is to take the same stand necessitated by the changed situation.

Another body of opinion the propagandist for Industrial Unionism has to meet is that which advocates a Federation of existing Unions, by which it is contended that the advantages of Unity in the movement will be obtained scientifically, without the disadvantages which result from the centralisation of authority and the sacrifice of the autonomy of clearly defined grades. Taking things as we find them to-day, there is a certain amount of plausibility in the arguments put forward, but the experience we have had of Federations is not encouraging. The disadvantages of centralised authority are obvious when illustrated by comparisions with bureaucratic bodies such as Capitalist Government Departments, but a scientifically constructed democratic Union would be controlled from the base. Every safeguard would be provided for the legitimate aspirations for autonomy of groups, and the unifying influence engineered by belonging to one body can be placed against the inevitable tendency there would be to sectional thought and action even inside a Federation.

In view of the foregoing, therefore, my reply to the question asked by the Editor is that I am of the opinion that propaganda must be accentuated amongst the rank and file before any further concrete step can be successfully taken to weld the number of

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sectional unions into scientific Industrial Unions. My experience in a large railway centre proves that the old craft and sectional ideas are still very strongly held not only amongst the inert mass, but amongst the most active spirits and best fighters in the local movements. I find that members of craft Unions are prepared to strike and are prepared to sacrifice their livelihood to force individuals who believe in Industrial Unionism to join their craft Unions. A competitive and an embittered spirit exists which militates against the idea of Unity, and this, if allowed to continue, has all the elements which tend to a fraticidal struggle.

In these circumstances, it seems to me that to hammer out details of an ideal constitution for the ideal Industrial Unions is rather premature. The interests of the working classes are one. The weaknesses inherent in the present position are fatal. The results are disastrous to each and every worker and the moral to be drawn is obvious. Let us then renew our efforts to persuade every worker that his interests are the interests of the "other fellow" and that his identity of interest should be reflected in his organisation. Whilst it is obvious that the views we have to change are held because the majority of workers do not understand the historic function of the working-class movement, yet at the same time, from a tactical standpoint, their ostensible reasons must be concentrated upon.

I am also asked for my view of the proposed Industrial Alliance. This, of course, has been generated by the Mining Crisis, and as the support it is receiving is evidence of the growing realisation of the dependence of one Union upon another, and the necessity for combined action to defeat the machinations of the employers, it is all to the good. The constitution appears to have been drafted with the idea of avoiding the tragedy of Black Friday and, of course, the idea of scientific combination has not been considered. If a combination based on the idea of big battalions to assist in a wage crisis is necessary, why not bring in all the Unions, so that they could be used at will to defeat the moves of the employers? And if that is wise, why not alter the constitution of the Trades Union Congress and give the General Council the powers proposed to be given to the Executive Committee of the Alliance? It is obvious that many more Unions are anxious to join the Alliance, and

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probably the time is ripe for developing the Trades Union Congress along these lines, but it must be remembered that there is a vast difference between developing an alliance for the purpose of defending the workers' position under Capitalism and bringing help to a sorely tried section, and the ideal of Industrial Unionism. Working together and fighting together, however, is bound to generate an atmosphere of solidarity and, therefore, the proposed alliance and the success of the stand taken by the Transport Unions on behalf of the Miners are episodes which illustrate the way in which the employers are forcing our class together and making them fight together.

We are out to take industry from Capitalism. Our ideal is the World for the Workers. In this country we are, after all, only a sector in the great battle front which stretches all over the world and it is our duty to consolidate our army and to make it efficient for the purpose we have in view. The end is certain and the conditions we see around us—the poverty of the common people and the ever-recurring crises adding to the millions of unemployed—are evidence that the present system based on the exploitation of the workers can no longer function and provide even the minimum standard of existence. Forces are operating to bring about conditions which will drive home to every worker the necessity for the utmost solidarity, and if we can create the will to Unity, the form of organisation will follow. Recent events emphasise the urgent need for the Trade Union movement to concentrate on the problem, so that not only shall we not be unprepared but that our machinery shall be capable of dealing with any eventuality.

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THE TWENTY-ONE POINTS of the SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By G. VALETZKI

In the following article, which is conceived upon the basis of the statutes, the resolutions and the discussions at the Foundation Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in Hamburg, as well as on the basis of the resolutions and discussions which have taken place in the course of the years 1923 to 1925, I desire to give a complete picture of that mental and political capital which the leaders of the Second International are exhibiting at the Marseilles Congress.—G. V.

(1) In the Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.) Socialist Labour Parties are united, which see the aim of the emancipation of the working class in the substitution of the capitalist system of production by the socialist system of production. In view, however, of the fact that the opinions of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. regarding what is the capitalist and what is the socialist system of production are very sharply divergent, and also in view of the fact that every attempt to alter the existing system of production would cause fresh disturbances of production, which has already without this been brought into disorder by the consequences of the war and by the revolutionary excesses, it is the highest duty of all Socialist parties to support in every possible manner, every effort in the interest of the reconstruction of capitalist production. In this the Socialist parties must never forget for a minute that, in promoting the reconstruction of capitalism, they have only in view the interests of the working class, of the widows and orphans, and that the approaching socialist order must inherit from its predecessor not blood-soaked ruins, but flourishing economic life.

(2) The class war serves as a means for the emancipation of the working class. The class war is a sociological theory, a scientific hypothesis, which seeks to explain the past and the present by the conflict between the constituent parts of human society. In the civilised countries the class struggle assumes the form of periodically occurring parliamentary elections.

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(3) The employment of force in the social and political struggle is emphatically condemned. Force is still employed now and again by the bourgeoisie, who, unfortunately, are too often moved to do so by excesses on the part of irresponsible elements. In acting in this manner the bourgeoisie only compromises itself in the eyes of the whole civilised world. The working class, as the bearer of the great ideals of the future, must not soil its hands by acts of violence. Its best weapon in the struggle against the acts of violence of its bourgeois opponents is moral indignation. (In exceptional cases the social democracy can be compelled to appeal to force in order to avert a greater evil, as, for example, for the purpose of suppressing mutinies of criminal Left elements, who could provoke the bourgeoisie to cruel reprisals.)

(4) Democracy is the best form of State. Universal suffrage, with the secret ballot, and the various election campaigns—in which every party endeavours to convince, with the help of arguments and reasons, the non-party masses of electors of the correctness of its election programme—leads to the election of a representative body of the people which faithfully reflects the thoughts, feelings and the will of the electors. The education of every inhabitant of every country to such a democracy is the task of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I.

(5) A difficult problem is the question of the participation of Socialists in coalition governments. This question is difficult because, on the one hand, old prejudices against such participation still make themselves felt, while on the other hand the experiences of the last few years have, apparently, not shown those brilliant results which might have been expected from the self-sacrificing activity of Socialist ministers.

The L.S.I. therefore declares the problem of ministerialism to be an open problem.

In accordance therewith the L.S.I., as the central organisation, would, in the event of the social democracy in this or that country being offered the possibility of participating in a coalition government, adopt a neutral attitude to the matter, and tolerate it. It only demands that nobody should act in the capacity of a minister and at the same time in the capacity of a member of the Executive of the L.S.I., and that a Party which allies itself with a bourgeois

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Government by sending a portion of its leaders into the Government, should remain connected with the Executive of the L.S.I. by sending other leaders into the Executive. It must be declared with all emphasis, however, that this decision can in no way be regarded as an anticipation of the solution of the coalition problem, but only constitutes a practical measure, by means of which the Executive Committee defines the limits of the problem of ministerialism.

(6) Another complicated and difficult problem is the problem of the defence of native country. This is likewise declared to be an open problem for the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. The Social-Democratic parties are called upon to study carefully the rich and many-sided experiences of the last world war, so that it will be possible, in the future, to discuss these experiences at one of the international congresses. Should, in the meantime, one or the other parties be faced with the dilemma whether it should or should not defend its fatherland, then it will, on its own responsibility and danger, have to arrive at a decision without involving the whole International in the affair, which in this manner enriches itself by a new experience regarding the solution of this delicate question.

(7) The decisions of the L.S.I. in international questions are binding upon all affiliated parties. This means a voluntary limitation of the independence of the individual parties. Should it transpire, however, that one or the other of the international questions which stand upon the agenda is so complicated and full of contradictions, that the L.S.I. has little prospect of carrying through an unambiguous decision by all the interested parties, then it is expedient to postpone the drawing up of decisions, for the purpose of an extended study of the material, or to formulate the decision in such a cautious and elastic manner that one cannot violate it, even with the best will in the world. In extreme cases, those parties which are compelled by circumstances to actions which are diametrically opposed to the decisions already arrived at by the L.S.I. can be allowed to withdraw temporarily from the L.S.I. in order not to place the L.S.I. in an embarrassing situation.

(8) The L.S.I. is an instrument not only for the tasks of peace, but in a like measure is also an instrument during every war. In view of the fact, however, that in every war at least two

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native countries are engaged in conflict with one another, and that the problem of the defence of native country could not yet be solved, the final solution of the question as to how the L.S.I. shall be employed as an instrument in war time, will only relate to wars which arise after the solution of this problem.

(9) Wars in general are to be avoided. War means the employment of force which, both in home as well as in foreign policy, cannot result in any good, and is therefore to be condemned. The L.S.I. must unceasingly remind the whole of humanity, but in particular the interested governments and the financial groups standing behind them, that it is much more practical by means of conferences to arrive at an understanding regarding every kind of disputed question, than to conduct wars. It is the task of the L.S.I., and the parties affiliated to it, to act as disinterested and self-sacrificing mediators between the hostile parties, to prepare every sort of agreement between them, even if it involves temporary damage to the interests of the working classes of both States or groups of States. There is nothing worse than war. The sacred hate against war is so strong in the L.S.I. that from time to time it assumes the form of plans for a general strike in the event of a declaration of war, whereby it must not be forgotten that such a strike, desirable as it may be, is impossible.

(10) There can be several parties in one State who are affiliated to the L.S.I. They can carry on the most bitter political struggle against each other, under the sole condition that they carry out the general political line of the L.S.I. Should it happen that one of these parties takes part in the government of its country, and passes penal laws against another party which is also affiliated to the L.S.I., then it is the duty of the Executive Committee of the L.S.I. to send a commission to this country in order to study all details of the problem on the spot, and so far as it is possible to endeavour to bring both parties to adopt a compromise resolution.

(11) For the mutual information of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. the Executive Committee will issue a weekly bulletin, containing material which in principle is intended for the organs of the affiliated parties. Nevertheless the various party editors are justified in publishing some facts in an abbreviated or altered form, or in suppressing them altogether, if an action or a publication

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would be inconvenient from the point of view of the interests of the party or of the country concerned, or if the prestige and the inner unity of the L.S.I. as a central organisation would suffer by their publication.

(12) Although the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. must, in the interest of their own country, attentively follow what is proceeding in other States of the world, they must devote special attention to that State known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Social-Democratic parties, on the ground of the general principle of non-intervention in foreign affairs, repudiate every interference on the part of their Governments, particularly the very expensive and futile armed intervention, in the inner affairs of this State. On the contrary, they will demand the recognition by their Governments of the Soviet Union, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*, as this, in general, is the best means of defending the interests of their fellow citizens who are residing in that State, and also opens up the way for a peaceful civilising influence upon this country. The peaceful policy of the Social-Democratic parties towards the Soviet Union is based upon the thesis that this State is governed by a handful of adventurers, who have robbed the workers and peasants of all human rights; that it is an Imperialist State which desires to conquer by force all the free nations of the world; that for this purpose it has set up the bloodthirsty Red Army, the chief hindrance to general disarmament; that this State obstinately refuses to enter into the League of Nations, which, although in an imperfect form, embodies the principle of the equality and fraternity of the peoples ; that, finally, it regards it as its highest aim to weaken the Labour Movement in all countries of the world in order to further the reconstruction and the strengthening of capitalism. In view of this it is the sacred duty of the L.S.I., and all parties affiliated to it, to support morally and financially those Russian Parties which are striving with all means to overthrow the Government of that country and after its overthrow to set up the Empire of sound, flourishing, and, for the time being, still capitalist democracy. The question whether armed revolt is the most expedient means for achieving this aim remains an open one, although, while at the same time maintaining the deepest repugnance towards the employment of force in general, it would

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be absurd to reject the armed revolt in principle, in so far as it should prove unavoidable. The question of the expediency of the defeat of the Soviet Power in a foreign war as a means for the overthrow of this Power also remains open. The choice between this or that form of indirect furtherance of a change of regime in the Soviet Union (while at the same time fully maintaining the principle of non-intervention) will be rendered by each of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. dependent upon which policy best corresponds to the interests of its own native country at the given moment.

(13) There is another country to which the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. must give special attention, *i.e.*, to Georgia. This country, which in an embittered struggle against all the Imperialist Powers of the world, had gained its complete independence, and had defended this independence under the protection of the most democratic and noble Great Britain, was conquered by force by the northern barbarians and forced to bow beneath a yoke more horrible than any known in history. The liberation of this country from the Bolshevik yoke constitutes one of the chief aims of the L.S.I. Every true social-democrat has two native countries: his own and Georgia.

(14) The Communists must be combated with all available means. The L.S.I. will only be capable of coping with those historical tasks, for the fulfilment of which it has been established, to the extent to which it succeeds in promoting the destruction of Communism. It is necessary to abandon the illusion that Communism can be overcome by mental means, as it is not in the least rooted in the masses, but only constitutes a product of the activity of millions of agents, who are well paid by a foreign Great Power. The Communists are endeavouring to set up a cruel dictatorship in the place of the wonderful achievements of democracy, in the place of the empire of liberty, fraternity and equality. Communism scorns the right of self-determination of the proletariat, it treads underfoot the will of the working masses, in order to bend them beneath the yoke of a handful of leaders who are greedy for power.

(15) The united front with the Communists must not be permitted in any circumstances. The parties affiliated to the L.S.I. are allowed to form a united front with all bourgeois parties

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of their country in order to preserve the interests of the nation as a whole, particularly against the foreign enemy, or with some of the bourgeois parties, in order to defend democracy or the republic. The common front of all classes of the nation is also necessary in the struggle for increasing the economic power of the country by means of increased output on the part of Labour, &c. The united front with the Communists is inadmissable firstly because this presupposes participation either in an inopportune struggle, or in an opportune struggle, but conducted with dangerous and undesirable means, secondly, because the alliance of social-democratic workers with Communists involves great danger of infection, in the same way as does all illicit sexual intercourse; thirdly, because the Communists are professional splitters of the working class and enemies of the solidarity of Labour. The tactics of the united front on the part of the Communists is, according to their own declarations, only a manœuvre for the purpose of exposing and annihilating the Social-Democratic leaders. The leaders of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. must neither be exposed nor annihilated.

(16) The L.S.I. perceives in the unity of the Trade Union Movement represented in the I.F.T.U. (Amsterdam) the necessary condition for the successful carrying out of the class struggle. In order to preserve this unity, it is necessary, systematically, to expel all those elements from the trade unions whom the leaders of the Trade Union Movement regard as dangerous elements which threaten unity. The splitting of the trade unions is a more useful means of achieving unity than unity with the doubtful advocaters of unity. In particular, the idea of an amalgamation of the I.F.T.U. with the R.I.L.U.—the greatest danger which ever threatened the working class of all countries—must be repudiated with all energy for the reasons quoted in Point 15 (on the united front) and in Point 12 (on the Soviet Union).

(17) The Versailles Treaty must be improved, extended, and developed. Like everything fashioned by human hands, the Treaty of Versailles has its light and dark sides. It is the task of the L.S.I. to strengthen the light sides and to weaken the dark sides, but in no circumstances must the Treaty itself be abolished, as it is far easier to destroy than to create. The best extension of the Versailles

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Treaty would be a "protocol," which recognises all the national frontiers laid down by this Treaty, and which would morally and legally bind all the States to submit to courts of arbitration and to disarm. In view of the fact, however, that some States are not inclined to do this, and already reject the Geneva Protocol, a number of guarantee treaties must be concluded, each of which must, where possible, be based upon the principle of justice, and shall under no circumstances threaten peace. The greatest danger to peace would arise when any Power (for example, the Soviet Union) should endeavour to persuade the Powers bound by the Guarantee Pact on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, that this Guarantee Pact is directed against it: they would finally be able to believe this.

The League of Nations is imperfect. It does not constitute the realisation of the old slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" but it is without doubt a serious step in this direction. The League of Nations, just as its foundation, the Versailles Treaty, must still be improved in the spirit of democracy and justice. Among others, those Powers who are still opposing it: disarmed Germany and the Soviet Union, which is doomed to decay, must be brought into it; should the last-named Power not be inclined to this, then it must itself bear the responsibility for the consequences. The L.S.I. regards itself as a social-democratic fraction within the League of Nations, in which it will work with the same means of persuasion with which the social-democratic fractions work in the parliaments and coalition governments to influence the State apparatus of their countries.

(18) The L.S.I. loudly declares before the whole world that the German people is bound to pay reparations, and that the Dawes Plan adopted in 1924, in spite of its shortcomings, which accompany every work which has not been fashioned by God, possesses great advantages. It is the task of the L.S.I. to reduce, where possible, the shortcomings and to strengthen the advantages.

(19) The colonial peoples are neither to be exploited nor suppressed by the metropolises. On the contrary, it is the duty of the civilised governments of the metropolises gradually to educate these people who stand upon a lower cultural level and in part are still perfectly savage peoples, so that in time they will

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become ripe for self-government. The parties affiliated to the L.S.I. must, on their part, gradually educate their governments in this spirit. The attempts, forcibly to drive the representatives of civilisation and of culture out of the colonies and out of the Asiatic and semi-colonial countries by means of strike boycotts, armed conspiracies, revolts, &c., constitute a great misfortune for the international working class, who, while sincerely sympathising with the awakening of the savages, are fearful of the terrible consequences of fresh upheavals and wars. To incite the inexperienced colonial masses to such acts is a crime. The L.S.I., whose activity is based on the idea of international solidarity and which opposes every nationalism except that which defends itself, is pledged to combat with special energy the Asiatic and African nationalism of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

(20) The women's question is a difficult question. It is necessary to study this question honestly from all sides and to place this question upon the agenda of one of the next congresses, as about the half of the population of the earth consists of women. As a proof of the complexity of the women's question can be mentioned the necessity, with which some of the parties affiliated to the L.S.I. (as, for examples, the Belgian and French Parties) saw themselves confronted, of opposing the enfranchisement of women, but which, however, must in no way be regarded as a precedent which in any way runs counter to the unshakable principle of the equality of women.

(21) A general amnesty is declared. It is strictly forbidden to rake up details from the past of the parties at present affiliated to the L.S.I., and in particular of their various leaders. It is forbidden to make use of the words "Scheidemann," "Noske" or "Vandervelde" as terms of abuse. It is forbidden to use expressions towards the Second International—which arose after the war, and which, in Hamburg, concluded a perfectly legal marriage with the Second and a-half International—such expressions as "a lady with a past," as happened at a Labour Conference in England, at the time of the World Congress in Hamburg. It is likewise strictly forbidden to remind people of the fact that only recently the leaders of the Second and a-half International, imitating the Communists, made use of the most abusive expressions regarding

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the heroic leaders of the Second International. The past is passed. An amnesty is granted to the Barmat social-democrats in Germany; the Hungarian social-democrats, who indiscreetly signed a pact with Horthy, although such a pact should only be concluded by word of mouth; the Bulgarian social-democrats, who supported Zankov much too openly; the Polish social-democrats, who are far too clumsy in concealing their direct connections with the secret police, and all other social-democratic parties who have made difficulties for the L.S.I.

In order to assure the correct development of the new L.S.I., similar amnesty decrees will also be issued periodically in the future.

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THE SCARBOROUGH CONFERENCE

By HARRY POLLITT

THERE can be no further doubt but that the Scarborough Congress has been the most important and momentous in the history of the British Trade Union Movement. For months prior to the Congress there had been a carefully prepared Press campaign which indicated how important to the capitalist class was this Congress likely to be. The essence of the capitalist comments prior to the Congress was that no doubt the "sane and moderate leaders" would again regain their control of Congress and prevent any further deviations to the Left such as had characterised the Movement during the last twelve months.

Not only have their hopes been dashed to the ground, but the whole proceedings at Scarborough have proved that there is now definitely in existence a growing revolutionary opinion which no intrigues or appeals to constitutional procedure could stifle.

The decisions reached at Scarborough must be judged in the light of the existing situation; a steady rise in unemployment and an acknowledgment on all sides that this is a period of truce, only the prelude to terrific conflicts ahead, with the Government making every preparation for the fight next May, when the findings of the Coal Commission will only be the screen used for an all-round attack upon the wages and conditions of the whole Movement.

In view of this situation, it is all the more regrettable that the Congress did not take a decision in favour of the affiliation of the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, the local Trades Councils, and the giving of complete powers to the General Council. The discussions on these questions proved how strong the desire for craft and sectional autonomy still is; despite past experiences, no general agreement on the need for a single centralised leadership capable of mobilising all the forces of the Movement in a common struggle against the exploiters. Yet, underlying the discussion, it was quite clear that the sense of the Congress as a whole was favourable to the new Council exploring every avenue in order

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that preparations for the coming fight could be made; and if the Left wing on the General Council had boldly come out and asked Congress for complete power, giving the urgent reasons for this step being taken, it would have been a complete counter-offensive to the Right wing, who sought to get a retreat on this question by taking refuge in constitutional procedure and sectional autonomy. The Left could have smashed at one blow this superficial view of the situation.

For the next day, by an overwhelming majority, Congress went on record in favour of a resolution dealing with Trade Union aims, the three fundamental points of which were:—

(1) The necessity of the trade unions definitely organising in conjunction with the party of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism.

(2) A declaration against co-partnership schemes and class-collaboration.

(3) The setting up of Factory Committees as the best means of securing the unity of the workers in every struggle.

This fact alone demonstrates that the majority of the delegates fully realised the new tasks that they are confronted with.

The speeches of Comrades Brown, Tomski, and Bramley indicated the importance of Britain to the International Working-Class Movement, and showed that, outside Russia, the British Movement is the real International leader. This is a position of great responsibility, but it was clearly recognised when the Congress unanimously and with a mighty roar of approval endorsed all that the General Council had done during the last twelve months, both in regard to Soviet Russia, and in the fight for International Trade Union Unity. The final decision of Congress that the new General Council must go ahead in its task of building up an "all in" inclusive International, is a tremendous step forward.

It can only mean that the new Council will approach the whole question from the point of view of the unification of all the forces both inside Amsterdam, the R.I.L.U., and the trade union centres outside either International, under a single International leadership. This is definitely a challenge, not merely to the reactionaries of Amsterdam, but to the whole Second International, which has

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been the bitterest opponent of the policy of our General Council, the most venomous critic of Trades Union Congress leaders in their unity campaign, the most treacherous and secret inspirer of intrigues against International Trade Union Unity and a rallying of all the working class. Objectively (and I dare say, in the case of many of its leading figures, *subjectively* as well) the Second International has been a great help to the capitalists and a bitter foe, for all its fine speeches, of the workers in their struggle. See the editorials in the *The Times*, &c., and the way they praise and rely upon "Labour and Socialist International."

The decision of the Congress on the Dawes Plan and Imperialism confront the Labour Party leaders with very pressing and grave problems. When the Congress decided to repudiate both the Dawes Plan and the whole basis of Imperialism and what it means to the subject nations, it did not do it because it desires to have separation from the Labour Party, or in order to pursue new policies as distinct from the Labour Party, but because of the disgust of the workers with the whole politics of MacDonaldism, and the desire and determination to give an entirely new outlook to the whole of the foreign policy of the Labour Party.

The attempt to use these decisions as indicating a split between the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party is only a misrepresentation of the position, for the strength and basis of the Labour Party are the trade unions, but there is now a growing recognition in the unions that it is not enough to grumble and grouse at the policy pursued by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Thomas and then leave them to carry on as usual. The experience of the Labour Government has made the unions realise that they must fight on these issues and then force the leaders to carry out the policy that has been decided upon by the whole Movement, and where this is not done, it simply means that such leaders must be swept aside.

The decisions registered at Scarborough in relation to China and the sending of delegations to India, Egypt, &c., mean the recognition of our responsibility to all colonial workers. The post-war period has demonstrated the complete breakdown of the monopoly of British capitalism, and with the intensification of Imperialist policy more and more are the workers of this country

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finding that the slave conditions of the colonial workers are the chief weapons responsible for the worsening of conditions here at home. For this reason Congress has decided that an inquiry shall be made into the conditions of our colonial comrades. This, in itself, is a tremendous step forward, when one considers the past insularity and isolation of the British movement.

These decisions mean that the new General Council has now positive tasks to carrry out in regard to colonial work They must insist upon the complete freedom of the working class in every subject country for economic and political organisation; delegations of inquiry, and also organisers, must be sent out to the various countries to help in the task of building up an effective working-class movement, especially should the General Council call upon its affiliated organisations who, from time to time, have members going out to such countries as India, Egypt, China, and the Crown Colonies, to insist that such members do not go out to these countries carrying with them the same point of view as the representatives of the bourgeoisie, but that they should use their special position in the various factories and undertakings where they go to work, for the purposes of assisting and aiding their colonial comrades to build up fighting organisations.

The above indicate the positive results of the Scarborough Congress, but it, of course, had its weak side, and in this connection three chief weaknesses were as follows:—

(1) The failure of Congress to give an organised lead in regard to fighting the Government on unemployment.

(2) Its failure to deal with the seamen's strike, which is recognised on all hands as constituting a break in the united front of the unions against any further wage reductions, and the absence of support to the strikers from the Trades Union Congress simply means an encouragement to the capitalist in other industries.

(3) The reluctance of the Left Wing of the General Council to come out openly and fight the Right Wing on every possible occasion, for there could be no doubt that the Right wing leaders, as represented by Messrs. Thomas, Clynes, and Cramp, had very effectively marshalled their

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> forces and were organised to take up the battle whenever an opportunity presented itself, and they could have been completely crushed from the first day of Congress to the last if the Left Wing on the Council had seized their opportunity, because one had only to sit in Congress to sense the feeling amongst the delegates, to realise that there was a new feeling permeating the whole Congress which only wanted well organising.

Two incidents during the chairman's speech support the above statement. One was where he said " Let the employers who think the organised working class can be driven still further back, take warning from this. This Movement of ours has learned many lessons during these years of reaction engineered by the employers, and one of the lessons is that a militant and progressive policy consistently and steadily pursued is the only policy that will unite, consolidate, and inspire our rank and file." And again, when he said, " Many of our good comrades who in the days gone by taught us to believe there was no remedy other than the abolition of capitalism seem afraid now that the system is collapsing, and appeal for a united effort to patch up the system with the aid of the present possessing class." The roar of approval that greeted these sentiments indicated the rising temper of the workers.

To sum up it is clear that experience and the whole economic situation is slowing revolutionising the masses of this country, and despite every form of intrigue and appeal to constitutional fetishism the Right wing leaders are unable to stifle this revolutionary growth. There is now the greatest opportunity in our history for those leaders claiming to be Left-wingers to come out boldly and take a prominent place in the revolutionary movement—they must do this, or they, too, will be forced to take up a position no different from that of the Right Wing, for the Scarborough Congress has demonstrated as clear as daylight that the revolutionary workers now organised under the leadership of the National Minority Movement are a force that can no longer be stemmed by intrigue or slander, they constitute the only organised opposition working within the existing union movement, and their first successes at Scarborough are merely the prelude to greater victories later on.

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THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS AND THE CO-OPERATORS

By J. HARRISON

VARIOUS estimates and opinions are current of the industrial crisis through which we are living. In our opinion it is only one of the stages in the development of capitalism and of the social revolution which we are now witnessing and in which we participate. Other people think differently; but in any case no political groups or parties dispute the fact that we are passing through a long period of intense social struggle, of a savage capitalist offensive and definite class warfare. At such a time as the present it is absolutely necessary to count up our numbers, to mobilise the whole strength of the working class, to unite the efforts of all Labour organisations. We must achieve co-ordination of effort such that every section of the working-class movement, every workers' organisation, strengthens its class position and falls into line, using all the means at its disposal to further the workers' cause.

When we consider the international working-class movement and the position of affairs in Great Britain is it possible to say that, although we have big working-class organisations eager to fight, they are all prepared to defend efficiently and vigorously their own section of the front? To this question we must reply very definitely in the negative. A case in point is the workers' Co-operative Movement, which in 1923 comprised, in the more important countries, 20,000,000 workers; that is, with their families, at least 50,000,000.

The Consumers' Co-operatives, whose membership is mostly working class, comprise more than 40,000 local societies; they have their own special banking machinery, a wide-spreading network of educational institutions, federal organisations, a large number of technical experts, their own Press, and so on.

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These facts show quite clearly what extensive support the Co-operatives could lend the workers, if only they would march side by side with them in their struggle; and on the other hand, what a danger this powerful system might be if it consciously or unconsciously helped their enemies or failed to work shoulder to shoulder with the Labour Movement.

This question is not a new one: it has a long history. The fact remains that up to now the revolutionary section of the working-class movement has paid little attention to the Co-operatives. The reason for this is partly that the significance of the co-operative movement has never been made clear, and partly that the more immediate problems of the day-to-day struggle pushed this movement into the background.

Thus the most compromising and reactionary elements of the Labour Movement did not forget to make use of the Co-operatives and to strengthen their positions in them. At present, when we have before us an epoch of decisive class conflict, the isolation of the Co-operatives from the revolutionary workers, and the fact that the Co-operatives have been left in the hands of the Liberals and the *petite bourgeoisie* is a serious threat to the Labour Movement. It would be an unpardonable mistake on the part of the revolutionary elements in the Labour Movement if they failed to emphasise or examine closely this vital question of the Co-operatives.

Present-day Co-operative leaders are fond of pointing out that the Co-operatives carry on their own business, cater for all classes in society and are neutral in politics. Therefore, they argue, the best thing to do is to leave them alone, free to solve their own specific non-class problems in their own way. Here is a striking case of self-deception. Usually it is simply a screen for carrying on a definitely petit-bourgeois and often definitely anti-Labour policy.

There is no need to refer to such well-known facts as the Co-operative Movement's support of the imperialist war, and its official attacks on Communism, with which the *Co-operative News* has familiarised us in Britain. Let us consider the aims put forward both by Co-operative leaders in this country and in the International Alliance.

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The International Co-operative Congress at Basle adopted as part of Article 1 of its revised (1921) Rules the following:—

"The International Co-operative Alliance, in continuance of the work of the Rochdale Pioneers, seeks, in complete independence, and by its own methods, to substitute for the present competitive régime of private enterprise a co-operative system organised in the interests of the whole community and based upon mutual self-help."

The sense of this amendment is not, of course, simply a naïve declaration of mutual self-help, but, speaking as it does of working in complete independence and by its own methods, means the complete isolation of the Co-operatives from other Labour organisations and from the class struggle.

Further, the report of the Committee of the Central Executive of the Co-operative Alliance to the Ghent Congress in 1923 shows that the Alliance between 1921 and 1924 dealt with the following questions:—

(1) *Disarmament.*—Cordial greetings were sent to the Washington Congress on Disarmament.

(2) *The Stabilisation of Exchange.*—National organisations were invited to demand from their Governments the calling of an international conference.

(3) *The Abolition of Passport Regulations.*—All Governments and Parliaments should be urged to abolish passports.

(4) *Present World Economic Situation.*—It was resolved that the calling of a "universal economic conference, to be attended by representatives of Co-operation, was desirable," and that the International Co-operative Alliance should seek representation on the League of Nations.

(5) *The Geneva Conference.*—The I.C.A. claimed direct representation at Geneva, and urged that credits be granted to States suffering economically from the results of the War.

(6) *The Position in the Near East.*—The Executive Council expressed the hope, in the form of a resolution communicated to the League of Nations, that the whole of the matters under dispute (October, 1922) would be referred to the League.

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(7) A manifesto to the League of Nations issued by the International Committee to "Promote Universal Free Trade" was supported by the Alliance.

(8) Representatives were sent to the *World Peace Conference* at the Hague in December, 1922.

Can these activities be reconciled with the declared policy of political neutrality? Of course not. The statements of the Co-operative leaders regarding political neutrality are instances of their usual Liberal-bourgeois policy of sweet words, masking a complete rejection of working-class aims, and resulting in isolation from the realities of working-class politics. Neither in the report of the Executive Council of the Alliance nor at the Congress could the pulse of the bitter struggle of the workers be felt. It was as though the workers were not at that time carrying on their hard fight, nor withstanding terribly bitter attacks. The Congress limited itself to pacific phrases, to the question of passports, &c.; while at the same time it refused to listen to an anti-war speech from a Russian delegate, supported the German representatives on the question of expulsion of Communists from the Co-operatives and refrained from taking decisive action with regard to the destruction of the Italian Co-operatives by the Fascisti.

The political hero on this occasion was Albert Thomas, renegade of the Labour Movement, bourgeois leader of the League of Nations and ideologist on questions of Labour at the Congress.

The only recent attempts to link up with other working-class organisations consist in a series of negotiations with the Amsterdam International; while all the efforts made by the International Peasants' Union and the Profintern to establish contact with the Alliance have met with failure.

To every person who thinks objectively it is obvious that such "neutrality" merely provides the bourgeoisie with an additional weapon in its struggle against the revolutionary forces in the Labour Movement.

It should be remembered that the International Co-operative Alliance includes Consumers' Co-operative Societies containing not only workers but also peasants; it comprises forty-six organisations in thirty countries, and 75,000 autonomous societies, in which are organised about 50,000,000 co-operators. Naturally,

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the leadership of such a colossal organisation by men pursuing petit-bourgeois and solidarist aims is a great danger to the Labour Movement. This danger would be minimised if the International Co-operative Alliance and its leaders, with the extension of the movement, were seen to be leading gradually towards the Left and beginning to make common cause with the Labour Movement. Unfortunately the reverse process is taking place. In 1904-10 the Alliance did give some faint indications of a desire to ally itself with the Labour Movement. The beginning of the post-war period, however, marks the definite separation of the Alliance from all other sections of the working-class movement. We find the leaders of the Alliance, and under their leadership the Alliance itself, moving further and further in the direction of complete compromise with the bourgeoisie, and opposing all attempts to harmonise the activities of the Co-operative and Labour Movements.

We have examined the policy of the International Co-operative Alliance in some detail because the existence of severe crises in all the main branches of industry, and notably the coal crisis, throws into relief the need for international unity of the most practical kind if the struggle of the workers is to be successful. In the particular case of the Co-operative Alliance it is necessary to pursue the following aims:—

(1) The systematic exposure of the policy of "neutrality" as a petit-bourgeois device.

(2) The freeing of the Alliance from the influence of petit-bourgeois and bourgeois leaders.

(3) A closer connection between the Co-operative Alliance and the International Trade Union Movement.

(4) The prevention of the Alliance's participation in international bourgeois organisations (League of Nations and the like).

(5) Formation of closer economic and organisational connections between the Co-operatives of the various countries and those of the Soviet Republics.

(6) A definite offensive movement on the part of the Alliance to meet the bourgeois attacks on Co-operatives, and particularly the Fascist destruction of them in Italy.

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(7) Simultaneous action by the International Co-operative Alliance and the various trade union internationals against preparations for wars.

(8) The organisation of a struggle against the high cost of living, against food trusts, cartels, and so on.

(9) Organisation of Co-operative support for the more important economic and political actions of the working class, which are of an international character.

(10) Participation of the Co-operatives in the fight for a united international Labour Movement.

To turn to the question of Great Britain, it should be pointed out that the leaders of the British Co-operatives are the most influential part of the Alliance, and all that has been said regarding the general policy of the Alliance refers in the main to the policy of the British leaders.

The Co-operatives of Great Britain, which are the oldest and most powerful in Western Europe, were definitely class-conscious in their origin; they comprise over four and a-half million members organised in 1,314 societies, and have a trade of more than £165,000,000, apart from that, the trade for the year ending 1923 amounted to £83,417,394. The capital of the various co-operative organisations amounts to not less than £100,000,000. Most of their members are industrial workers.

The English Co-operative Movement undertakes educational work and employs organisers and lecturers. The C.W.S. Bank is of good financial standing and has considerable resources, partly consisting of the deposits of those workers who are members of the Society, and partly of the funds belonging to trade unions and other Labour organisations, for which it acts as bankers. The question arises, does the working class of Great Britain receive adequate assistance from this organisation in its bitter struggle for existence ?

The coal crisis, the state of affairs in the textile industry, the energetic attacks of capital on the working class generally, the preparations by the workers for a decisive battle, for strikes which could and would develop into a general strike—all this points to the need for joint mass action by the Co-operatives and the trade unions. Now, after partial defeat, the bourgeoisie is mustering its

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forces to inflict a deadly blow on the British working class. Can it be said that the Co-operatives have done and are doing all they can to help the workers to ward off the attack? This question must be answered in the negative. Nobody can count as serious practical help the short article in the *Co-operative News* about the coal crisis, the humanitarian declarations of the Co-operative leaders about the miserable plight of the miners and the promises to give substantial help to them—out of the miners' own funds! At such a critical moment it might have been expected that the Co-operative Movement would mobilise all its material and organisational resources. Decisive action is indicated not only in view of the general needs and position of the working class, but also in the immediate and urgent interests of the Co-operatives as an economic organisation whose basis is seriously threatened by the repeated attacks of capital on wages.

The colossal growth in the numbers of the unemployed, and of the organised unemployed, and as a result of this the strengthening of the whole working-class movement, demonstrations in the streets and in Parliament—all this calls for the keenest and most active support from all Labour organisations. Yet from the Co-operatives we have only a resolution about the unemployed at the yearly Congress.

Take only one example of the working of Co-operative policy. The well-known pacifist resolution of the Southport Congress and the repetitions of the general demand for the control of foreign policy by Parliament were seen to bear not the slightest practical significance at the moment when a breakdown of relations with Soviet Russia was threatened, and all the other Labour organisations in the land intervened. This example is absolutely typical of the conspicuous absence of the Co-operatives in the most critical moments for the Labour Movement. The scope of this article does not permit of further illustration; but there is not a doubt that not only the political, but all the economic and organisational actions of the Co-operatives demand definite re-examination from the point of view of their maximum adaptation to the principles of a democratic mass working-class Co-operative Movement.

Here we again come up against the famous question of political

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neutrality, and it is easier in the British than in the Continental Movement to expose all the false meaningless declarations of the present Co-operative leaders, who still cling to the idea of "neutrality."

It is sufficient merely to turn to the reports and resolutions of the Central Executive Committee at the Annual Co-operative Congresses to prove that the Co-operatives are definitely concerned with political questions. The official Southport Congress report includes in its agenda the attitude to the Labour Government, to the Labour Government's foreign policy, to its housing scheme, the organisation of political schools, and other such questions of a purely political and economic nature. Even more to the point is the programme of the Co-operative Party, which has the whole-hearted support of the present-day Co-operative leaders. Included amongst its aims, as set forth in the programme, are the political expression of the English Co-operatives, the organisation of a Co-operative republic, inclusion of all countries in the League of Nations, institution of free international trade and exchange, many typical Liberal measures in the sphere of financial politics, nationalisation of land, democratisation of the Civil Service, health questions, education, unemployment, and so on. After this list of the problems before the Co-operative Party to speak of the political neutrality and abstention from political action of the British Co-operatives is beside the point; at the same time it must be stated categorically that we have here only the usual hazy bourgeois Liberal programme in which the needs of the working-class struggle find no expression.

Further, it is very difficult to accept as political "neutrality" the continuous campaign which the Co-operative Liberals carry on against the Communists and the Minority Movement, by closing the pages of their Press, by refusing national recognition to Communist parliamentary candidates chosen in the localities, and by labelling as insolent the attempts of the Communists to criticise their actions.

We suggest that the working class can demand from the Co-operatives:—

(1) That they organise their economic activities in full accordance with the needs of the working-class struggle.

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(2) That in times of crisis the organised economic and financial strength of the Co-operatives be put at the disposal of the workers, to whom they can render assistance in many special ways.

(3) That they take an active part in Labour politics generally, working in close touch with the trade unions and political organisations of the working class.

We must once more emphasise the fact that their participation is particularly necessary at present, that to talk of political neutrality is futile, that actually the Co-operatives do take part in politics, and that their leaders pursue a petit-bourgeois policy. Accordingly the revolutionary workers of this country should bear in mind the following points:—

(1) All revolutionary workers, all trade unionists, must go into the Co-operatives and take an active part in their work.

(2) It is necessary to get revolutionary workers into positions of power on the committees of management and other organs of administration.

(3) The petit-bourgeois policy of the Co-operative and Co-operative Party leaders must be relentlessly exposed.

(4) The Co-operative Movement of this country must be freed from the leadership of reformist anti-Labour elements.

(5) All societies, federations, guilds, which demand high entrance fees and contributions, and in which only a limited number of members have a decisive vote, must be urged to lower their contributions and abolish the purchasing qualification for working-class members.

(6) A campaign should be carried on for the democratisation of Co-operative administration, and the right of the minority to state their views freely should be safeguarded.

(7) The Co-operatives should take the lead in the fight against high prices, the food trusts, &c.; as far as possible all Co-operators should lend their support to this campaign and, with the help of the trade unions, transform it into a mass movement.

(8) Shop committees of working-class co-operators should be organised, working together with the trade union representatives.

(9) Every effort should be made to draw the women workers into the Co-operatives.

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(10) All the most important questions of the proletarian economic and political struggle should be considered by the general meetings of the Co-operative societies. The discussion of these questions would arouse the interest of the rank and file of the membership, and lead to the organisation of joint Co-operative and trade union mass action.

(11) It is particularly important to bring forward at Co-operative meetings the question of the present industrial crisis. Joint schemes must be prepared so that the Co-operatives may be ready to assist the workers in the various branches of industry and the localities where the most intense struggles take place. Arrangements must be made for the supply of food and fuel, for the giving of credits and financial aid for propaganda schemes, Press campaigns, and so on.

In the sphere of mutual relations between the trade unions and the Co-operatives, the following steps are indicated:—

(1) Creation of joint committees of Co-operators and trade unionists, both nationally and locally, to co-ordinate general policy and aims, and to decide on the special steps necessary for the assistance of the workers in their immediate fight against the attacks of capital.

(2) Local trade union branches and the Minority Movement should take the initiative in the formation of these committees.

(3) The Co-operative organisation ought also actively to support the unemployed and their demands.

(4) The trade unions and the Co-operatives should make an organised protest against the high cost of living, and should work together on local or national food committees and other government or municipal bodies.

(5) The educational work of the Co-operatives and trade unions ought to be co-ordinated along the lines of independent working-class education for all, whether trade unionists or Co-operators. They should draw up joint programmes of work and co-operate in the running of clubs, &c.

(6) The best possible conditions of labour must be guaranteed in all agreements between the Co-operatives and their employees, who must all be trade unionists.

(7) The activities of the Co-operative Bureau of the Minority

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Movement Executive Committee must be widened and strengthened.

We have spoken only of the most important and pressing problems of Labour policy in the Co-operatives at the present time. More detailed consideration of the problems involved is necessary. The fundamental premises for the fulfilment of the programme outlined above are the growth of the collective consciousness of working-class Co-operators and Co-operative employees; and an energetic organisation of groups inside the Co-operatives for the carrying out of this policy and the preparation of new corps of revolutionary proletarian Co-operators.

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THE FAR EASTERN TANGLE

SUNDRY NOTES

WHY do I choose this title? Not simply because Far Eastern politics are always made to appear in a tangle by the Capitalist Press of Europe and America, but because, from a Marxist standpoint, the *present* situation in China and the Pacific is very complicated and hard to analyse. The factors in the situation are many, and most of them variable. The purpose of these notes is only to sort the factors as a preliminary to a fuller analysis, which should be carried on by Marxists in every working-class journal.

The Imperialist Powers

Great Britain. The first robber Power, British Imperialism has a bigger share of Chinese trade than any other. Hated by the Chinese workers and awakening nationalists, jealously watched by the other Imperialists, Britain dare not take any open steps. To outward appearance, Britain, sitting there at the receipt of custom, in Hongkong down the river from Canton, is like Giant Pope in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, who had gone stiff in the joints and used to bite his nails at his enemies and curse. Well, Britain has done enough of cursing and being foul-mouthed about the Bolsheviks, and she appears too stiff in the joints to repair her position. But behind the scenes Britain prepares "Jameson raids" on Canton, and by bribery, by supplies of munitions of war, by pitting military chiefs and officials against one another, can do the utmost to prevent the Chinese becoming strong enough to throw off the British incubus.

It is all Britain can do. Look at the situation. Any overt step such as threatening the Chinese central authorities with diplomatic notes and gunboats would be challenged by the U.S.A., which looks on complacently at the present plight of the British Imperialists. France, too, smiles: her withers are unwrung. Again, Britain cannot make an agreement with the separate Chinese

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Government in Canton, for it is "not recognised." Lastly, a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is out of the question. It would throw Canada and Australia into the arms of America. Japan knows this: and any local Anglo-Japanese negotiations will come to nothing.

Two things destroy Britain. First the industrialisation of China: the growth of a capitalist class, a proletariat, and all that this growth implies. Secondly, Britain's world rivals are stronger every day, while compared to them, she is weakening steadily: the effect of this is seen also in China.

Japan. Japanese Imperialism, hated by its own working class and peasantry, hated by the nationalists of Corea that she has seized, hated by the inhabitants of her spheres of influence in China, has a difficult problem to maintain these conquests in face of the enmity of the U.S.A. and the attitude of the other Powers. What is her prospect? And to whom shall she turn in the future Americano-Japanese war? Not to British Imperialism, which counts at best to remain neutral in such a war, at worst to come in on the American side. But Japan must have a rear to her armies, navies, and civilian population. China is not that rear but Japan's hinterland of exploitation. That rear she will look to find in Soviet Russia and Germany, the one for raw materials and food, the other for manufactures. So on these counts Japan dare not quarrel openly with Soviet Russia; even though relations remain uncordial between the bloody Imperialists of the Japanese Empire and the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. Lastly, Japan must get over the effect of the earthquake of 1923 which made her a second-rate Power. So Japanese Imperialism will probably try to smooth things over with the Chinese (quite apart from Britain), and for years to come will want everything to be as quiet as possible in the Far East.

America.—The U.S.A. have a simple policy. They call it "The Open Door"—by which is meant equality of opportunity for every Imperialist Power to trade with China and invest in Chinese industry. But the other Powers have got a long way ahead in that race. America would like to start the race all over again. "Let's start again," they say, "with a fair field and no favour." Therefore the rise of a strong China (*i.e.*, a centralised

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bourgeois State) pushing the Japanese and the British out will be quite acceptable to America. Nor is the U.S.A. likely to be perturbed by the British propaganda that Bolshevism is spreading in China. America is the strongest immediate bar to British expansion and British rule in China. In the British Press this is not mentioned and the Bolsheviks are blamed. The Americans do not mind this, but they refuse to be frightened by it; indeed, for the moment their policy of the " Open Door " has a somewhat similar effect to the Soviet policy of " Self-determination for the Chinese." Opposed to Britain, America is still more opposed to Japan. Against both of them France, who has a very small stake in China, is prepared to be on the side of the U.S.A.

The Forces against Imperialism

U.S.S.R.—This Government of Workers and Peasants stands opposed to all the Imperialist robbers. The Soviet Union has, within the space of two years, reached a very strong position in China. First she has renounced all the privileges to which the other Great Powers still cling. Secondly, she is friendly to China and in favour of the present movement among the Chinese masses. Thirdly, by her mere existence as an anti-Imperialist Power which has thrown off the yoke of the other imperialisms, Soviet Russia is a perpetual reminder to the Chinese that they may, perhaps by means of a Socialist republic, perhaps by means of a revolutionary Nationalist republic, in turn throw off their oppressors.

What are the immediate relations (fundamentally hostile) between U.S.S.R. and other Powers ? America has no economic enmity with Soviet Russia ; her quarrel is with Japan. Japan dare not quarrel with Soviet Russia; their immediate policies may differ as the structure of their Governments is completely antagonistic, but Japan is playing a long suit. With France Soviet Russia is on as good terms as with any Capitalist Government at the moment.

Soviet Russia naturally has the biggest influence in the north of China, and the whole breadth of China separates her from British interests centred in the south. So the influence of the Soviet State is bound to increase steadily in the north where the Japanese dare not quarrel, and the Americans with a similar

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policy to that of the Soviets have no immediate cause of quarrel. In the south, on the other hand, though the policy of the U.S.S.R aiming at strengthening China is at the opposite pole from the policy of Britain which is to weaken China, the Soviet State can have but little influence. But the industrialisation of the south, geography apart, will link it up with Soviet Russia.

Summary of the Foregoing

The rival Imperialist Powers have thus, it will be seen, every interest in keeping quiet. They either dare not or will not move towards any " vigorous action " in China. This is likely to be the position for some years to come, in spite of all the fire and slaughter slogans of the British Press and the pitiful appeals to the British Cabinet to take a strong line.

This being so, we must turn now to a factor which is least calculable, that is the development of the Chinese revolution. That the present " disturbances " are not temporary, but are part of a definite process, is already clear. How that process will go on is very hard to say. If things develop towards a strong bourgeois Government, then China, backed by U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. (each for very different reasons) will be able to edge out both the British and the Japanese. This seems one possible line of development, but how incalculable even this line of development is can be seen at once by taking into account the effect on the British Empire. If Britain is being steadily driven back in China the effect of this on the Near and Middle East may be very great. The loss of British prestige may suddenly nerve the British Imperialists to seize a favourable moment (when, say, tension between Japan and U.S.A. neutralises both) and may try to recover by the strong hand the ground they will steadily have been losing.

Another possible line of development is that—more rapidly than we imagine—the workers and peasants of China may win their emancipation, with obvious effects on the Japanese proletariat, the subject races of Corea, the French colonies, &c., &c. Whether this comes to pass or not, it is clear that beneath the contending Imperialisms with their rival policies and counter-checking activities, there is a much more powerful factor than any. That is the process towards world revolution. The factors in that process (apart from

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Imperialist rivalries) are the masses of China, the peasants and workers of Japan, the subject workers of the colonies, and the victorious workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. Along with these factors, too, we have been able so far to count in the trade unionists of England. If the process develops rapidly will British trade unionists continue to support Chinese workers ? Or will they follow those who will want them to help maintain Imperialist rule ?

All these things that I have set down are some preliminaries to the deep analysis of the Far Eastern question that is urgently wanted. Such an analysis would need to take into consideration the class structure of China, of Japan, and would need to examine the correlation of forces more closely than I have been able to do.

In the past few months there has been in certain quarters an expectancy that the Chinese question would soon be settled by concerted action of the Powers. There was even some foggy notion that the delay in such concerted action was due to "inevitable delays in Eastern diplomacy." That notion is to be dispelled. On the other hand, it is true that some raid or other form of attack on China may be carried out by the British Imperialists, and in that case it is clear that the British Imperialists will do it at their own peril. This does not mean that there is no need for the working-class agitation against intervention in China. It does mean that if and when Capitalist Imperialism dares a big attack in the Far East, its actions there may bring it crashing down here, in the West—and all over the world.

R. Page Arnot.

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LANGUAGE AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

By HUNTLY CARTER

THE main point of this article is the great importance of language to the present stage of the Labour Movement. To-day language is all-powerful. Indeed, the power of verbal expression of a class determines its moral and material condition. This power, with regard to the control of politics and economics, is for all practical purposes in the hands of the capitalists. Labour's demand for a full share in government and the control of the economic machinery of the country cannot be satisfied till they, too, possess a like power.

To-day words are owned and controlled by the ruling rich. They are made to express just what their owners want. They are made to take any form required: highly intellectual and controversial for the comfortable and educated, plain and pictorial for the pinched toilers. They are the most prolific source of capitalistic propaganda and destruction. Their effect is devastating. They sweep flat all resistance to the power of the plutocrats. Every hour, every minute of the day they are given new meanings and fresh values, and they are so cunningly manipulated that unwary users, especially Labour leaders, may be, and constantly are, unconsciously committed to unexpected and compromising practical results. Watch how frequently Labour M.P.'s fall into verbal traps set by more subtle minds on the opposite benches. Take down Hansard and turn to the debates arising out of the dropped Campbell case and you shall find scores of examples. Or note the important part played by the word "definitive" in the railway dispute of September, 1919, when it was made to replace "definite" by Sir A. Geddes. In the latter's opinion it was the precise word to be used. Mr. J. H. Thomas put "definite offer," the Government put "definitive [final] offer." Another unfortunate phrase was "datum line" (*see* Press, October, 1920).

Probably the best examples of the control and misuse of words by the capitalist class for the purpose of propaganda are to be

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found in the rapid and subtle changes which the four present great keywords, or springs of thought and action, are undergoing. Socialism, capitalism, revolution, and economics are swiftly losing their identity and vital significance, and disappearing beneath a lumber of utterly false meaning. Proof of this is not far off. It appears in the fact that more than one radical writer of repute is busy with a definition of one or the other. For example, there is Mr. Bernard Shaw's promised tract on Socialism. True, it is meant to explain socialism to elderly middle-class ladies, and may be no more than an attempt by Mr. Shaw to clear his own mind on the subject. That his mind is very foggy is proved by his recent interpretation or misinterpretation of "Russian Revolution," "Anarchism," "Syndicalism," and the vituperative word "Bolshevist." But isolated definitions are not of much use. What is needed is a united effort on the part of the workers to fix the true and permanent meaning and value of each word in their own minds and that of the people in general. Or failing this, to invent new words containing the fundamental meanings of the slaughtered ones.

It would be of general interest fully to classify and exemplify the many and varied emotional and intellectual means used by the capitalist Press to give full effect to words. But it would take up too much space. The principal weapons in the word war may, however, be given. These are, on the amicable side, *capitalistic friendship*, *co-patriotism*, and *benevolent interest*. On the malignant side, *vituperation*, *ridicule*, *diabolical wit*, *fierce denunciation*, *distortion*, *confusion*, *exaggeration*, *acid abuse*, and *downright lying*. The latter form the weapons in the campaign of falsification and injustice. Of course, it is a campaign in which the interest is made to sell. The two main objects of this campaign are to frighten and to laugh people out of the use of words that threaten to destroy capitalism and to educate them in the use of others that support it. The two main methods are (1) plain English and the handling of words to mean capitalism, and (2) the widest appeal to the common man.

Here are examples of methods. When the miners won their recent memorable victory over the Government out came one million-circulation capitalistic newspaper with two words in great

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block capitals. These words printed on the front page were "Blackmail Friday." It was a perfect example of a condensed figure of invective, picturing a black criminal act, and calculated to tear the full value of the victory from the minds of millions of curious people. What was Labour's headline? Merely "Good Friday," a phrase that pictured pancakes and hot cross buns. Probably the best examples of the verbal sabotage of Labour are to be found in attacks, not on their revolutionary deeds, but on their revolutionary words. By Labour's revolutionary words I mean those composing the new language which has come out of the Russian revolution, but which is not allowed to take root in this country owing partly to the powerful opposition of capitalism and partly to the inertia of the workers. These words include in particular the ever-present ones, revolutionists, Reds, communists, bolshevists, comrades, proletariat, and class-consciousness. We cannot pick up a capitalistic paper without finding one or the other being slaughtered or changed beyond recognition by means of injurious comments, false innuendoes, suggestive analyses, and destructive laughter. The word "revolution" is undergoing change owing to its constant misapplication by the capitalistic Press to the utterances of scientists, art and crafts men, business men and so on, and its subtle confusion with evolution. A fair example occurs in the headline "Medical Research Revolution" printed in block letters to catch the eye. Discovery is meant. Revolution is an abrupt overturning, a sudden change of direction. It is different from evolution, or continuous unfolding in the past, present and future. Lenin believed in revolution; Mr. J. H. Thomas believes in evolution. The capitalists believe in evolution and as it is a safe word they use it as a subtle weapon with which to fight the word revolution. Bolshevism, Communism, Reds, and Red Flag are being used as bogies to terrify people. For example, we read of the "foulness of communism," "communism gets at the minds that are ignorant or in a state to receive the Gospel of Hate," "communist murder gangs" and so on. "Comrade" is being laughed out of existence. Says one stately Tory journal, "Comrades Ruth Fischer and Masloff fought out their differences with Comrades Scholem, Katz and Rosenberg." Whereupon, no doubt, the stately Tory readers roared with laughter, while the

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unstately Pinks tittered and called each other " mister." Economy, which is the basis of the workers' new world, is being made unpopular by having its meaning confined to finance. Neither the history nor meaning of these words entitle them to bear the interpretation put upon them by the Capitalistic Press. For instance, " communism " contains the idea of a communal society for workers. " Economy " is a splendid word derived from the Greeks, and originally meant housekeeping. To-day it is associated by advanced minds with body and brain keeping. The new economic state will be one in which the workers will invest their energy, mental and physical, and receive the fullest return for their investments.

Our language is saturated with capitalistic and intellectual middle-class words, phrases and idioms. In an age of revolution, when the world is pregnant with the spirit of change, and indeed waiting to be delivered by the aid of the wizard of words, this modern lord of liberalism is kept chained by the anti-revolutionary classes. What is the Labour Press doing about it ? What are they doing to encourage the workers to talk with their own tongues and think with their own thoughts ? Practically nothing. With the exception of one or two theoretic, penetrating and brilliant extreme Left periodicals, there is not a single sheet on the workers' side making war on the enemy language. Not one helping to form a true working-class revolutionary language. Apparently they are blind alike to history and present need. They do not see the example of the lawyer-made French Revolution: the refusal of the intellectual leaders of the revolt to let the current language stand; the energy of university professors in polishing up words to mean revolution and battle to the common folk; the literature and language of revolt that sprang from the need of the moment and came flaming down succeeding years to fire the aspiration of restless men in all countries.

They pay no heed to these and like lessons. For the most part they borrow the civil words of the Capitalistic Press. They look up the dictionary for " bourgeoisie," " capitalist," " gentleman," " snob," " profiteer," " fat man," " bosses," and then try to hang the enemy with them. In vain. " Gentleman " is too

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strongly tied to a moral significance. " Capitalist " is flattery to the slave-owners. " Bourgeoisie " has a proud descent. " Bosses " belongs to the common language of industrial and political events. " Snob " is at bottom " journeyman." Such is the stock-in-trade of angry Labour sheets. But the worst form of copying by the latter is the changing, defiling and destroying of words. What is the poor worker to do in building up an individual language while editors and sub-editors of his mouthpieces are degenerating into word-corrupters? The *Sunday Worker* has, for instance, set out to thrust a defiled " Slogan " down his throat. " Slogan " originally meant a Scottish war-cry. Then the shopkeepers took it for advertisement purposes, and a slogan king arose and made thousands of pounds per slogan, and it became a capitalistic cry. Now the *Sunday Worker* has got it for a gambler's cry, and is making it a grave menace to the development of a workers' healthy language. For all the seekers after slogan money prizes will go searching through capitalistic papers, posters and dictionaries for the winning slogan. The harm does not stop there. From Slogan has issued the meaningless monsters " Sloganites " and " Slogania." An editor who so deliberately defiles language ought to be boiled.

There are innumerable examples of the habit of Labour sheets to adopt the coinages, matter and manner of the capitalistic sheets. The *Daily Herald* continues the Liberal illustrated Political Primer by F. B., once a feature of the defunct London *Tribune*. The same paper recently started a serial by a " working-man dramatist " named J. R. Gregson. Here is some of Gregson. The story begins: " I am Ernest Oxley, bachelor, of independent means, aged thirty-three." . . . " I will briefly narrate the events immediately preceding the catastrophe from which I at present suffer." Evidently Ernest's complaint is a preference for the pompous lick-spittle language of educated illiterates. " She gave herself an air of bedragglement " is a sample. At the other extreme is the amusing attempt of interpreters on the Labour papers to get their ideas and opinions understood by playing down to a presumed unintelligent audience, until they become unintelligent themselves. An illustration occurs in Winifred Horrabin's amazing signed contributions to the *Sunday Worker*. In some people the assumption that workers are common folk who use cattle jargon is almost a

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mania. If the workers were encouraged to interpret themselves they would show some of the over-zealous deputy interpreters how working-class interpretation ought to be done. Though inarticulate in a sense, they yet contain a wonderful quality if vividness and strength of speech of their own which appears spontaneously in writings of uneducated men unaccustomed to the pen and not inspired by the capitalistic press and public library. Their words have life and revolutionary blood in them. Such writers and words, if sought and taken care of, would materially aid to carve out a language for the Labour Movement.

Another Article on this Subject will appear next month.

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IN THE LIGHT OF MARXISM

By "STUDENT"

Finance Capital

It does not so much matter to the Moneyed Interest if home production falls off. . . . They have all the world to invest in, and are for the most part naturally quite indifferent where or in what they invest, being simply guided by the consideration of the return. And the Money Interest is peculiarly strong in England, largely as a result of our Free Trade policy. . . . The banking world will fight for Free Trade as long as it can, just as it fights for "Sound Money," and may prevail. In that case the ultimate destiny of this country is to become predominantly a money-owning and money-lending country, the mortgagor of a great part of the rest of the world.

MILNER, "An Economic Notebook," *The Times*, July 29, 1925.

HERE is a well-trained Imperialist statesman endeavouring to grapple all by himself in his private notebooks with the process of finance capital.

The result is illuminating; all the more so as the statesman in question was more thoroughly trained, both theoretically and in administration, than most English politicians, to observe and analyse facts.

Milner is able to see the external social process taking place—as who that is honest can fail to see?—the process of Imperialism and Parasitism. He can see 10 per cent. inevitably beating 5 per cent., the decay of British home industry, British workers thrown on the scrapheap, and England becoming a pleasure park of moneylenders with their retinue of servants and vulgar luxuries.

But he is unable to see that this is the simple working out of Capitalism in its advanced stage. For explanation he can only turn to bogeys such as "Free Trade" and "the Money Interest," the latter of which he opposes to "Productive Industry," meaning home industry.

Free Trade was only the reflection of British industrial monopoly in the nineteenth century. It was no more the cause of that monopoly, and of the consequent tremendous accumulation of capital, which led to the era of finance capital, than the moon is the cause of the sun's light. On the contrary, that monopoly had developed half a century before it was strong enough to adopt Free Trade as the instrument of its further development. The subsequent industrial countries were necessarily Protectionist, but have developed no less inevitably, in proportion to their amount of accumulation, into the era of finance capital. France and Germany before the war held each about fifteen hundred millions' worth of capital invested abroad, against the British three thousand millions' worth. Protectionist America is to-day becoming a great creditor State, with similar problems of conflict between world interests and home industry.

It is equally incorrect and superficial to speak of a separate sinister "Money Interest" which is distinct from Capitalism as a whole. On the contrary,

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finance capital represents the highest fusion of every form of capital, both banking and industrial; although the process of this fusion necessarily places increasing concentration of power in the most concentrated and centralised form of capital, the banks and great investment trusts. Finance capital is simply the outcome and more advanced stage of " Productive Industry " under Capitalism. A little further examination of the facts would show that in the huge expansion of British capitalist production and investment abroad not the least part is being taken by all the big industrial firms in Britain, which are deliberately building up profitable enterprises overseas at the expense of the British workers.

Finally, the policy of expansion of finance capital, which Milner laments for its disastrous effects on home productive interests, is precisely the policy of Imperialism of which Milner was so passionate a disciple. This complete practical contradiction in the outcome of his whole career was simply the expression in hard fact of the sentimental confusion which was his only starting point, and which he betrayed in his " Credo," where he appears to confuse Imperialism with " national " patriotism (a grim thought for the slave 360 millions). This sentimental confusion, which will be found in practice to be the invariable mental basis of the bourgeois ideologue, made him the ready tool in the real world of finance capital. There is no completer example of the process of finance capital in its most shameless and parasitic form than Milner's administration of Egypt as the bondholder's agent.

Last of all, Milner was unable to see that this " ultimate destiny " which he foresees for England as the moneylenders' country, is not and in the nature of Capitalism cannot be an " ultimate destiny " at all, but only a very rapidly passing stage ; that British financial supremacy is already threatened and bowing down to the American advance, and that herein is developing the inevitable and culminating contradiction of Capitalism, which will in its turn lead to the extension of the world revolution.

Education and Propaganda

> *The educational work done by foreigners in China looks like charity, but is in reality a form of colonisation. . . . If we investigate the content of their work we will find that most foreigners who are doing educational work in China usually have as their purpose either religious propaganda or political aggression. Education is simply a supplementary matter to them.*
>
> Manifesto of the National Federation of Provincial Educational Associations of China, 1924.

The Chinese Federation of Educational Associations have been making some discoveries about " pure " bourgeois education.

Like the working class in England from their point of view, so the Chinese in China from theirs, are discovering that bourgeois education is soaked through with a certain point of view that they neither share nor want. The Chinese, being so simple and ingenuous-minded as to describe things as they see them, call bourgeois education " propaganda." The British working class is beginning to do the same.

That bourgeois educational work in China is simply a " form of colonisation " is extremely clear to all, because the whole process is as it were, isolated and clarified by the absence of many confusing social factors

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But that bourgeois educational work in England, down to the most modest and "literary" Extension lecture, is also nothing but a "form of colonisation," that it is in fact either "religious propaganda" (inculcation of idealism, which colours all bourgeois education, throwing a fog over clear social relations and scientific thinking) or "political aggression" (inculcation of democratic shibboleths, industrial harmony, &c.)—this the British working class is only beginning to see; and the sooner it does see it completely, the better.

The Labour Party and Religion

> *I do not know what the future may bring. If we do the duty in the right way that lies at our feet we can leave the issue to God Himself. We need not press. We need not rush.*
>
> Right Hon. J. R. MacDonald after the Pilgrims' Dinner. *Daily Herald* report, May 5, 1925.

That the British Labour Movement is built upon religion is a common statement. Although many individual comrades are "agnostics" and atheists, it is customary to leave the Right wing free to carry on its wholesale religious propaganda and closely organised links with the bourgeois religious movement. It is argued that the question is only of "private" concern, and that religion may be a useful adjunct in bringing people to Socialism.

Marxism cannot accept this view. A religious outlook is incompatible with a scientific outlook, which analyses religion equally with other social phenomena. A scientific outlook is indispensable to the working class if they are to grapple successfully with the existing complex of social and economic issues, both before and after the conquest of power. Marxism is built upon the naturalist scientific outlook, *i.e.*, the recognition of the reign of law equally in natural and social phenomena, and the realisation that we must understand these laws, and that only by understanding them (and not by expecting the world to conform to our own feeble subjective desires without relation to objective reality) can mankind advance by its own intelligence and strength alone, learning from mistakes and facing facts.

All bourgeois religious outlooks, whether in the churches or in the "refined" forms of idealism, theism, creative evolution, &c., encourage the workers to look to another world—heaven, their own hearts, the contemplation of the universe, the future perfection of mankind—to compensate them for their hard fate in this; and further, to look to some form of outside help—God, progress, &c.—to help them through. Marxism alone teaches the workers to look to themselves alone. Thus all the bourgeois religious outlooks, from the simple form of the orthodox priest to the creative evolutionary confusionism of Bernard Shaw, are in fact socially obscurantist and props of the bourgeoisie.

It is a significant fact that, while the bourgeoisie in its early revolutionary days made ventures into materialism and atheism, to-day the trend of all fashionable bourgeois intellectual thought in the period of bourgeois decay is increasingly religious. The young bourgeoisie is beginning to go to church, or to play with mysticism, or to turn desperately to the most reactionary forms of religion, High Church and Catholic. The working class is shedding religion. This is a notable indication of the approaching reversal of class roles.

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No clearer example of the reactionary character of the religious outlook could be found than the above quotation from the leader of the Labour Party, which is a gross and glaring expression of the religious disease.

In the society of rich British and American capitalists, fêting the new American Ambassador, with the shadow of Anglo-American rivalry hanging over the whole ceremony, and the certainty of war if Capitalism is not overthrown, MacDonald, the "leader" of the workers, speaks in effect as follows, for the benefit of the workers:—

> Do not think of the future. Bow your heads and do your "duty" (*i.e.*, obey Capitalism). Trust in "God" (*i.e.*, do not trust in yourselves, but let Capitalism rule). We are in no hurry; we need make no effort (*i.e.*, leave the existing order alone).

Is it not the voice again of the "Little Father" speaking to his people, of the Tsarist priest speaking through the mouth of this cultivated Labour leader?

Heart and Brain

> *I do not feel justified in saying Yes, though I cannot find it in my heart to say No.*
>
> C. E. M. Joad on "Is There Proof of a Future Life?" in the *New Leader*, May 8, 1925.

This is a more pitiful example of the foregoing.

The Right wing, or direct supporters and associates of big capital and privilege, are coarsely open in their use of religion.

The Centre, or vacillating petty bourgeois intellectual elements supporting the Right Wing, are torn in this, as in every other issue, between conflicting impulses, and end in impotence, attempting to reconcile verbally both worlds. (It is this impotence, or inability to think to a conclusion, which they mistake for "open-mindedness," "free thought," "tolerance," &c.) They cannot swallow intellectually the coarse religion of their leaders, and yet they shrink from tearing themselves free. So they try to construct for themselves two worlds, an intellectual world in which religion is admittedly not true, and then some "other" world of the "heart" in which "perhaps" it is.

Unfortunately there is only one world in real life, a world which punishes unforgivingly any failure to apprehend it as intellectually and scientifically as we are able.

The *New Leader*, the most typical organ of the Centre, has "no opinion" editorially on the question of religion. Unhappy *Leader*, that must become dumb on a central issue facing the workers.

Unfortunately it is not possible to live in a vacuum. The writers in the *New Leader* inevitably deal in practice with religion. And then appear the Two Worlds in all their glory, so dear to the intoxicated vision of the Idealist.

Questioned as to the "Proof of a Future Life," the writer in the *New Leader* discovers that he is "not justified in saying Yes" (*i.e.*, intellectually he cannot accept it), but—here comes the saving other world, the world of the heart—he "cannot find it in his heart to say No."

What a mess this fellow would get in if he behaved like this in real life!

Suppose Mr. Joad out for a walk with a friend who is blind. They reach a precipice; the friend, delighted with the fine day, and eager to go forward, asks, "Can I step forward?" Swiftly comes the brilliant answer:—

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I do not feel justified in saying Yes, though I cannot find it in my heart to say No.

Suppose a battle, and valiant Mr. Joad in command of the reserves. The general sends an urgent message, "Can you bring up the reserves within one hour?" Back comes the reply of our Wise Man of Gotham:—

I do not feel justified in saying Yes, though I cannot find it in my heart to say No.

However, in practical life, as Bucharin has remarked, all men, whatever their professions, invariably conduct themselves as atheists.

The Evolutionary Fallacy

The question for us to consider is what we are to do in the event of a catastrophic breakdown of a system which we expected to have to supplant by easy and orderly stages till we reached the goal of Socialism.

BROUGHAM VILLIERS in *Forward*, May 23, 1925.

An evolutionary strategy can proceed experimentally.

BRAILSFORD in the *New Leader*, March 13, 1925.

The "evolutionary" Socialist fallacy follows inevitably from the religious or idealist outlook?

What is the essence of the "evolutionary" Socialist outlook? Is it a question of recognising that social development is historical process, in which each stage arises from the preceding? On the contrary, this is the first principle of Marxism as against the utopian Socialists.

Is it then a question of "slower" or "faster" modes of progress towards Socialism? This is nearer to the actual controversy, but does not yet bring it out clearly. For it is obvious commonsense that "slower" and "faster" depends on circumstances; sometimes it is necessary to proceed slowly, sometimes come sharp breaks demanding rapid fundamental action. How can there be a controversy on this in principle?

The essence of the so-called "evolutionary" Socialist outlook consists in this, in the belief that we can *choose*, as a first principle, "slower" action, not according to circumstances, but according to the dictates of our temperaments, hearts, wishes. "An evolutionary strategy can proceed experimentally." The writer does not say: "The situation is such that it is possible to proceed at leisure, experimentally, without any danger of our calculations being knocked to pieces by facts." He says:—"*Since* we have chosen an evolutionary strategy therefore we can proceed at leisure, experimentally."

The first beginning of the rough impact of facts upon this view is seen in the quotation from Brougham Villiers:—"What we are to do in the event of a catastrophic breakdown of a system which we *expected* to have to supplant by easy and orderly stages."

It is the old fallacy of idealism—the belief that we can govern our action in the world according to subjective feelings, and not according to reality. "Evolutionary" Socialism is simply the old utopian Socialism over again, dressed up in a falsely termed "evolutionary" dress to make it look presentable.

The practical meaning of "evolutionary" Socialism consists in not facing Capitalism.

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The World of Labour

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POLAND

Trade Union Congress

THE Congress of Polish Trade Unions, which has previously been mentioned,[1] opened on June 11 at Warsaw. The fact that the Congress was to be held seems to have been insufficiently known, the intention being, apparently, that only officials or those known to be in agreement with the Central Committee should be represented. Thus the Union of Building Workers, which had recently been dissolved by the police, sent a letter protesting against the refusal to allow its representation, and demanding its credentials.

Efforts were made by the left wing and Communist unions to spread the news, and a considerable number of left-wing delegates appeared, Communists, however, being excluded from the Congress hall. The "red fraction" held an independent meeting, which was eventually broken up by the police, and passed a resolution in favour of Trade Union Unity, conveyed expression of its sympathy to the Chinese and Bulgarian workers and peasants, and condemned the Central Committee.

These views were brought up in the Congress itself. A commission on unity was proposed, but Zulawsky, of the I.F.T.U. General Council, declared that it should be considered in connection with the general question of Communism, and this view prevailed. The resolution eventually passed expressed the official I.F.T.U. position on the admission of the Russian unions, but warned the workers against the dangers of unity with those who profess Communism.

The Central Committee was repeatedly accused of supporting the Grabsky Government. Zulawsky in reply stated that they did not support the Government, but merely did not allow its fall. He who desired this would be a fool or a lunatic, since its successor would be either a Witto's (Fascist) government, or a military dictatorship. It is difficult to suppose that either would bring results appreciably different from the present regime of White Terror.

[1] See Labour Monthly, August, 1925. Vol. VII, No. 8, p. 506.

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Sassenbach, who was present as a fraternal delegate, bore witness to the bitterness of the campaign against the left-wing unions, in which the Central Committee is implicated. He was invited by a delegate to go on a tour of inspection of Trade Union offices in Warsaw. This he did, visiting offices closed and raided by the police, others lodged in private flats and cellars, and even one Secretariat trying to carry on its business in the street. He appeared amazed at what he saw, and repeatedly stated in his remarks at the Congress how scandalous such a state of things appeared to him.

FRANCE

Socialist Party Congress

THE Congress of the French Socialist Party was held in Paris from August 15 to 18. The total membership was reported to be 105,000, a remarkable increase on the total of 48,000 reported at the last congress in January, 1924.

The first business of importance was the case of M. Varenne, a deputy, who had accepted the position of Governor of Indo-China. The rank and file of his local federation had moved his expulsion, and in spite of opposition from M. Blum, M. Grumbach, and others, this course was agreed to.

The next three sessions were occupied by the most important matter before the congress, the general political situation, and the attitude to be adopted towards the Government. This attitude had been highly ambiguous since the fall of M. Herriot, and there had been fear of a split. Many deputies wished to continue the alliance with the Radicals, but most local federations had expressed disapproval of this.

M. Blum's "middle course" motion, which really leaves the parliamentary position undecided, obtained 2,210 votes against 559 for the "right wing" motion of M. Renaudel, and preserves, for the time being, the unity of the party. The discussion was throughout exclusively in terms of parliamentary tactics, and showed how completely the party had fallen into the traditional snare which awaits the socialist politician. M. Blum's conception of workers' demands is illuminating also. He would promise support for any government which would "attempt to bring into being measures demanded by the working class—in particular in connection with peace, financial stabilisation, social measures, and military and educational reforms."

The agenda of the Labour and Socialist International was discussed, the chief emphasis again being laid upon the diplomatic tangles of the moment. The Pact was promised the support of the party, on the grounds that it would be a step towards the Protocol, the policy of the French Imperialist Government, and could be used to promote disarmament.

A resolution was passed defining the attitude to be taken up towards the Moroccan War, over which the party had badly compromised itself.[1] The uncompromising opposition of the Communist Party has won a great deal of support from the working class, and has been very confusing for the rank and file of the party. It was at last decided therefore to oppose the war, to deny

[1] See Allen Hutt, "The Riff War of Independence," LABOUR MONTHLY, August, 1925. Vol. VII, No. 8, pp. 493-495.

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responsibility for it, and to demand from the Government immediate steps in favour of peace. It was decided, however, not to demand evacuation of Morocco and to repudiate those individuals and federations which had taken part in the "Council of Action."

C.G.T.U. Congress

The Congress of the C.G.T.U., attended by 800 delegates, and claiming the allegiance of 500,000 workers, was held in Paris from August 26 to 31. It was decided to send a delegation to the C.G.T. Congress, asking the co-operation of that body in an effort towards the national unity of the Trade Union movement. The letter, after recalling previous efforts of the C.G.T.U., and rejecting the idea of unity by the simple entry of the members of one organisation into the other, proposed the holding of a joint conference as soon as possible, to discuss :—

(1) A Unity Congress in August next.

(2) Preparation for the Congress by the convention of general meetings for fusion (of the different industries, &c.) before the general congress. These could be held in May or June and could set up the committees of the re-constituted unions.

(3) The holding of federal and departmental conferences in the same way.

(4) The setting up of an Inter-Confederal Committee to supervise the measures decided upon by the mixed conference.

The announcement on the second day, that the C.G.T. had decided to accept the delegation, was received with the greatest enthusiasm. It was decided further to hear a speaker from the autonomous unions, and to invite Oudegeest, who was a fraternal delegate to the C.G.T. Congress, to speak on the subject of unity. He replied, refusing, on the ground that on the general question he had nothing to say, and in the domestic one he could not interfere. The congress confirmed the steps taken by the Executive, and decided to maintain the struggle for unity.

C.G.T. Congress

The Congress of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* was held at Paris from August 26 to 29, and was attended by over 1,000 delegates, claiming to represent 1,800 *syndicales* and 750,000 members. During the first session, letters were read from the *Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire*, which was holding a congress simultaneously, and from the *Union Fédérative Autonome*, which had held a congress on June 28, proposing joint action to achieve unity, and asking for permission to send representatives. A vote was taken after some discussion, and by 2,762 to 1,500 it was decided to receive delegations, one speaker from each being allowed half an hour.

The speeches were duly delivered, and received, as *Le Peuple*, the organ of the C.G.T., insisted, in almost complete silence. The delegations withdrew, and a discussion followed, in which some genuine desire for unity was displayed. On the next day, however, Jouhaux, the secretary, in the course of a long survey of the situation and the work of the C.G.T., practically decided the question of unity by giving the view of the Bureau. He attacked the efforts of the C.G.T.U. as "diplomacy" and "duplicity," and declared that unity

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could only be achieved by the re-entry of the "dissidents" into the C.G.T. His object was clearly shown when, in speaking of the proposed mixed commission and its work, he said :—

> What does this mean ? Simply this : the Inter-Confederal Congress will have as its task the constitution of a single organisation which cannot exist without the disappearance of the C.G.T. They must think the leaders of the C.G.T. very simple if they imagine that they will accept the dissolution of their organisation.

On the last day of the Congress the vote was taken, and 3,936 votes were cast for and 365 against the official resolution, which rejected the unity proposals. Some opposition delegates wished to take part in the Inter-Confederal Congress, but a disciplinary motion forbidding such participation was passed, with, it is reported, only one dissentient.

A motion proposing to send a delegation of 20 to Russia, in response to an invitation from the A.R.C.T.U., was defeated, only seven votes being cast for it.

The remainder of the period was chiefly occupied by the reports, during one of which Jouhaux gave the official I.F.T.U. view on International Unity, namely that the Russian unions can enter the I.F.T.U. provided that they accept the present statutes unchanged.

A report on the Moroccan war attacked the Communist Party policy, and declared that working class action against the war must be "exerted upon the French Government on the one hand and the Riff chief on the other," and in every way echoed the recent decisions of the Socialist Party on this subject.

Unity Congress

The Inter-Confederal Congress which had been arranged by the C.G.T.U. took place on August 30 and 31 in Paris. Greetings were sent to the British Minority Movement, and to the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council, and Liebaers was present as fraternal delegate from Belgium. The Conference decided during its first session to limit itself to 54 Unitary delegates and 56 Confederal and Autonomous delegates, the latter representing approximately 200 unions, and to call itself a "Unity Conference," thus avoiding violation of the terms of the disciplinary motion passed by the C.G.T.

The resolution finally accepted unanimously contained the following clauses :—

(1) Unity cannot be realised in a lasting and effective fashion unless the trade union movement retains its autonomy and its character of class-struggle.
(2) The practical realisation of unity can only be obtained by the sumultaneous fusion, controlled by mixed committees, of all parallel organisations.
(3) The mixed committees shall decide locally the practical steps to be taken towards unity.
(4) This conference condemns the formation of new organisations beside those already in existence.
(5) Resolved, to bring about this ideal, the Conference considers that the organisations present should put forth every effort among the working masses, whether organised or not, in order that, in the shortest possible time, unity, which is so urgently required, shall triumph.

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TRADE UNION UNITY

A Magazine of International Trade Unionism

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TWOPENCE MONTHLY

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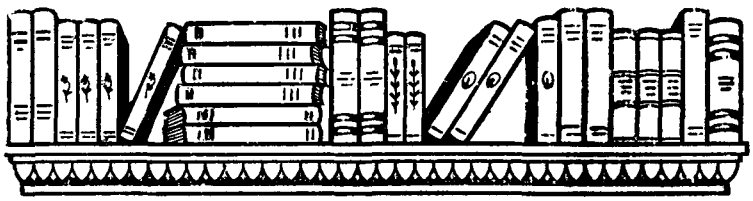

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LONDON

Caledonian Press Ltd.

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74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road
London, W.C. 1

Telegrams: Edcalopres, Kincros, London
Telephone: Museum 1311
Museum 7777

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Published by the proprietors
the Trinity Trust
162 *Buckingham*
Palace Road
*S.W.*1
and Printed by the London Caledonian Press Ltd.
74 *Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road*
*W.C.*1
WIC436

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